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DANCES AND SOCIETIES OF THE PLAINS SHOSHONE.

BY

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DANCES AND SOCIETIES OF THE PLAINS SHOSHONE. ooo

By Robert H. Lowie.

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PREFACE.

From the beginning it had been intended to include those Shoshonean tribes who had been more or less affected by the culture of the Plains in the present survey of the military societies of that area. Accordingly, I devoted a portion of the summer of 1912 to seeking relevant data from the Comanche, Southern Ute, and Wind River Shoshone. The Comanche were visited in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma; the Southern Ute at Navaho Springs and Ignacio, Colorado; the Shoshone at Wind River, Wyoming.. In 1914, a brief visit was paid to the Ute of Whiterocks, Uintah Reservation, Utah.

While the information is meager for all of the tribes concerned, I feel reasonably sure that this is largely due to the relative simplicity of Shoshonean culture and that the essential features of the Ute and Wind River dances are correctly represented. I am much less confident as regards the Comanche, who proved poor, and in part very unwilling, informants.

For the pictures of the Bear dance, as well as for innumerable courtesies during my brief stay at Navaho Springs, I feel under deep obligations to Mr. and Mrs. Charles D. Wagner.

March, 1915.

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COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four bands:—

Yápaire̓ka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'nate̓ka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápaire̓ka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwi a̓'ö'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Cult (tírewo̓ku-nö'ö'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pénate̓ka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nö[5]'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anö'kā̓r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself.

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast." [3]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organized in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company.

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."

[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.

[3] Clark, 355, 141.

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796 72 [535] If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several informants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration, called nā'wapinā'r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy that called for revenge. [216] Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā'r, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned warrior came last in the line. [533] Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

535 [796] During the entire period of the nā'wapinā'r it seems that the several dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the dances. [292] During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

[621] The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the Yápaire'ka band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the nā'wapinā'r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

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their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division.

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs.

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers.

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nfotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged.

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone.

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formerly certain "dauntless men," called pĭa rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness (naĭimeàpaĭet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regulated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinĭ said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

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DANCES AND SOCIETIES OF THE WIND RIVER SHOSHONE.

The Yellow Noses and the Logs.

The Wind River Shoshone had at least one institution that clearly corresponds to a typical feature of the Plains Indian societies. Whenever the tribe was on the march or engaged in a communal hunt, two bodies of men directed the movements of the people and were invested with special political functions. On such occasions the rank and file of the Shoshone were preceded by a group of about twenty or thirty men, called óho mū'pe, literally "Yellow Noses or Mouths," but commonly interpreted to mean "Yellow Foreheads." Approximately equal in number, but forming the rear of the procession came the wō'bine, "Logs." Some of my informants referred to these divisions by different names. The Logs were several times spoken of as "Big Horses," while for the term "Yellow Noses" some informants substituted haſhe, an untranslated word. Others explained that the haſhe were simply scouts chosen by both the Yellow Noses and the Logs.

The Yellow Noses cut their hair short, with a square bang, which they plastered with yellow clay. The Logs parted their hair in the middle, and wore a braid on each side, wrapped with weasel (or some other) skin.

Entrance into these companies was not dependent on purchase and there was no age qualification. Bī'vo said that membership was hereditary in the male line, and that he himself had belonged to the Yellow Noses like his father before him. However, this is contrary to statements of other witnesses, and indeed contradicts his own report of a novice's admission. So far as I can see, any one who so chose might become a member of either body, though the Yellow Noses were expected to be especially brave. If a man had an elder brother or friends in one of the two companies, he was likely to follow their example. Sometimes the societies asked a man to join. When the Yellow Noses gave a dance, their two headmen might say, "So-and-so is looking on, he is brave and shall join us if he is willing." Then they would ask him, and if he meant to give an affirmative answer, he would say, "No," and *vice versa*, for it was a peculiarity of the Yellow Noses to use "inverted speech." If he had signified his willingness in the manner explained, they cut his hair and thus made him a member. A prospective Log did not use "inverted speech" when asked to join. In the case of a new Yellow Nose, one of the headmen merely cut his hair roughly after the fashion of the society, which was called "branding" a new member.

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575 302 Afterward when at home, the novice had his hair arranged more elaborately. This form of hairdress was always adhered to, not merely in dancing. In one case mentioned by Bī'vo a novice refused to have his hair cut square, so one of the headmen got another man to recite his deeds, and thus the candi-
575 [622] [292] date was absolved from the haircut. The headmen were usually older than the rest and had attained distinction as warriors, but the tribal chief belonged to neither organization. Mō'wo said that the headmen of the Yellow Noses wore buffalo robes fringed at the bottom.

[203] It was possible for a man to leave one society and join the other. If a man could not get along with some fellow-member and desired to resign from the society, he was expected to inform its herald, who would make public announcement of the fact. Bī'vo said that in such a case the resigning member would have to pay the chief a blanket or horse, or some other property; but this is denied by other informants. If a man did not feel sufficiently brave to remain with the Yellow Noses, he would tell the other members and withdraw; a long time after he might perhaps join the Logs.

[554] There was no rivalry between the two societies. It is clear that the Yellow Noses enjoyed a higher social position on account of their bravery, and in a sense the Logs were even definitely subordinated to them. For
575 224 example, the Yellow Noses would sometimes give a dance at night and say, "Tonight we shall detail two or three of the Logs as scouts to locate the buffalo." Then the scouts would set out to sight buffalo and report back to the camp, where all the people got ready under the directions of the Yellow Noses. On the march the order was that already described. Both companies might restrain anyone trying to rush at the buffalo prematurely, but owing to their position in front this seems to have been the special duty of the Yellow Noses, who were accordingly called tĭrakō'ne, herders.[1] Hā'wi said that if a man started for the buffalo before the proper time, one of the Big Horse (Log) headmen would bring him back, whipping his horse over the head. He knew of no case where the offender offered resistance; should he have done so, he thinks the police would have disfigured his horse,
[689] e. g., by lopping off the ears. If a stampeder succeeded in killing some of the game, the police destroyed his buffalo hides, so that he reaped no benefit
575 [72] from his precipitate haste. Naturally the Yellow Noses were also the ones expected in the first place to repel an enemy's attack from the front. On the other hand, it was the special function of the Logs to protect the women,
[486] to show them where to put up their lodges, to keep order in the rear, and to look out lest any one be left behind; they would also fix lodge poles for the people if some of them were broken in dragging them along.

[1] At Lemhi, Idaho, I learned that during dances and hunts a chief was assisted by dirahō'se, policemen, armed with quirts. Lowie, (d), 206.

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There was a feeling that when a Yellow Nose had once started he should not stop for anything. Accordingly, a member would never pick up anything he had dropped; any one else might seize the object and keep it. If a woman dropped something on the march and tried to pick it up, the Logs might say to her, "You belong to the Yellow Noses, you are not supposed to pick up anything you drop." 575 484

Another distinctive trait of the Yellow Nose company has already been noted,— backward speech (nā'nõma pö'nait). When the first white men came to the Shoshone and asked the Yellow Noses whether they wished to be friends, the answer was, "No," but this meant, "Yes." The members of the society would speak backward even in their own family, viz., "Don't give me a cup of water." If a young woman wished to marry a Yellow Nose, he would refuse her offer when he meant to accept and *vice versa*. When the Shoshone were fighting the enemy and the chief desired the Yellow Noses to charge, he would say, "Don't charge the enemy." The headman of the society would answer, "No, we shall not charge," but at the same time they would do so. If, on the other hand, the chief bade them charge, they would not go at all. 575 195 575 195 726

The Yellow Noses and Logs performed exactly the same dance, the bíepùngo nõqá, Big Horse dance, but according to most of my authorities they generally performed it separately, joining only by some special agreement when they wanted to discuss the camp movements together. On such occasions they put up a very large tipi for the dance. Otherwise, when the Yellow Noses danced, the Logs merely looked on, and *vice versa*. A man was not obliged to join his fellow-members in the performance; if he preferred he might remain a spectator. The dance had no particular object; the Indians simply thought they should feel better by performing it. It might be danced at any season of the year, but was especially appropriate before setting out on the buffalo hunt. 575 535

Ordinarily the performance took place in the daytime, beginning in the morning or about noon and terminating before sundown. A big buffalo-hide tipi was set up for the occasion, and one or two of the headmen went round to announce the dance. The bottom of the lodge cover was raised, so that the people could look on. The women were seated in a circle all round the circumference of the lodge and helped in the singing. In the rear of the lodge, but in front of the women stationed there, sat several musicians, the best singers from the dancing company, equipped with hand-drums. In front of the musicians were the dancers. There was no difference between the songs of the two societies; there was no meaning to the words sung. Several informants said that the step was nearly or quite like that of the tásayùge (see p. 822). This statement seems at first irreconcilable with the [345] [203] 575 535 533 575 535

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general description of the older performance as a mere jumping up and down without change of position. However, at Lemhi I was told that the old form of tásayùge also involved a mere dancing up and down.[1] When a Big Horse song had been intoned, the headmen went round with a quirt, to make the members present get up and dance. At the close of a song the dancers sat down, to rise again at the next one. There was no special costume. Some men wore beaded leggings and buckskin shirts, others merely a breechclout; there were also individual differences in painting. A dancer might carry a tomahawk or stick an eagle feather into his hair. Yellow Noses sometimes wore a small stick with beadwork on one side of the head, and a longer stick of the same type on the other. The headmen had no distinctive badge. After the dance there would be a recital of war deeds. Finally came the feast, for which a great deal of wild-carrot stew had been prepared. With the distribution and eating of the food the performance came to a close.

Foolish One.

There was a man associated neither with the Logs nor with the Yellow Noses. He rode a horse with docked tail and went through camp singing, without any one annoying him. In his hand he would hold a spherical rattle. When the enemy were in sight the Foolish One (wi' + ag·ait) advanced regardless of danger, even if a man should aim a gun at him. If the enemy missed him, the Foolish One would rush upon him and strike him with his only weapons, a quirt and the rattle. After such an exploit he might cease to act as a Foolish One and would be acclaimed as a war chief for his bravery. Sometimes a man would touch two or three of the enemy before retreating. Any one might become a Foolish One if he considered himself sufficiently brave not to turn back before striking an enemy in the manner described. In this undertaking many Shoshone were slain, but others would take their place.

It is clear that the Foolish One corresponds closely to the Crazy Dogs of the Crow and Blackfoot; and a specific similarity also exists with a Flathead institution described by Clark.[2]

Hai Noqai.

During the sun dance buffalo tongues were strung together, hung from a pole, the ends of which rested on two men's shoulders, and carried inside a

[1] Lowie, (d), p. 222.
[2] Clark, p. 255 f.

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lodge. Then the haſhe (see p. 813) came and imitated the noise and actions of magpies. They would rush in, seize the tongues and try to get away with them, while the other Indians beat them off with sticks. This practice was called haſ nöqal. 796 297 535 [575]

Naroya.

This is regarded as an old dance; the meaning of the name is obscure. According to one informant, it is identical with the ā'pö nöqà and the nū'akin; another Shoshone identified it with the dzō'a nöqà and the nadzaſ nöqà of Idaho.[1] The first-mentioned authority gave the following origin account:— 535 535 793

After the Father (ā'pō) had created the world, there was a man with his wife and two children. Coyote came along and said, "I am your father and made all these hills and trees. Now I will give you this ā'pönöqā." So he taught them the nā'röya dance. Coyote was merely fooling the people.

The nā'röya might be danced at any season of the year. The Shoshone believe it always keeps storming when the dance is performed; thus last winter (1911) it was snowing all the time because of several performances. Any man might give the dance if some member of his family was smitten with a cold or some more serious disease; to drive this away the performers would shake their blankets at the close of the ceremony. Hā'wi recalled several instances where sick people attended the dance and also shook their blankets when the headman bade the participants do so. Both men and women took part; the men first formed a circle, then each woman would step between two men, all interlocking fingers. Sometimes there were so many dancers that a larger concentric circle, or part of one, had to be formed. Within the (smaller) circle, though not in the center but rather near the circumference, there was a pine tree; this remained standing and was used for subsequent ceremonies. The dance might be performed either in the daytime or at night; in the latter case a big fire was built in the center of the circle, or sometimes on the outside. In the early days the ceremony lasted five consecutive nights, only the final performance took place in the daytime. Nowadays the Shoshone only dance for one or two days. The dancers move clockwise. There is no musical instrument; the performers move in accompaniment to their own singing. At the close of the ceremony all go to take a bath. 535 [821] 535 755 535 [533] [515]

[1] Cf. Lowie, (d), 217–219.

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Wohonoqin.

535 This dance,[1] which was supposed to be started by a man born in the
[821] summer, was expected to bring warm weather. The Wind River Shoshone have not danced it since the disappearance of the buffalo; it is an old cere-
[171] mony of theirs, though one witness declared he did not know whether it originated with the Shoshone or the Ute, to whose Bear dance it obviously corresponds. Indeed, there is another Shoshone name for it, ā'gwai nōqá, which means Bear dance.

The ceremony was celebrated about New Year's, in the open air, without
534 any enclosure. It was danced for four days. A hole was dug in the ground and covered with a pan for a resonator. On top of this were placed the notched sticks (wō'hönöki) serving as musical instruments, which were
535 rasped by five or six musicians grouped round in a circle. The women were all on one side of the ground and would choose a man partner from the opposite side. Two girls selected one man to stand between and facing them. Then they would go forwards and backwards in sets of three. At first they held up their hands in imitation of a bear's paws and acted as if afraid of each other, but finally they clasped each other and danced together. The performance was limited to the daytime, but was danced on four consecutive days. On the last day only two performers participated, the giver of the dance being one of them, otherwise anyone who chose might take part. In one part of the ceremony a man would kick his partner's foot (or
[241] *vice versa*) causing her to fall. Then the headman, who was naked save for a clout, took the resonator and musical instrument near the prostrate form and made a noise there. The fallen one would then sit up, jump round, and move his hands in imitation of a bear; without this performance he would be liable to be killed by a bear some time.

According to one informant, the wō'hönōqin was always performed at
[178] the initiative of the same individual, and when he died the Shoshone ceased to dance it.

Banda Noqai.

The meaning of bánda nöqaí is unknown. The dance, though practised by the Shoshone long ago, is associated in their minds mainly with the Bannock, who according to my authorities still keep it up (1912). Only
[292] [302] men took part. They wore breechclouts painted white and black and

[1] Cf. Lowie, (d), p. 219.

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painted themselves all over with black dots. Each had a pair of very large artificial testicles fixed on, and carried a bow and bl nt-headed arrows. The women or other non-participants split sticks, putting a bead or other small object within the cleft, and set them in front of the dancers. The performers danced up to the sticks, but pretended to retreat in fear until finally they snatched them up. Before so doing they would rush at some spectators and pretend to shoot them. Spectators were supposed to be outdoors while looking at the dance; if any one peeped through a hole in the tipi cover, the dancers would shoot him. When they had seized the sticks, some men who had water at hand threw it at the dancers as they started away, so that some would get wet. The performers proceeded a short distance, then danced again, and tapped bows and arrows together. Finally, they ran off as fast as possible to the place where they had put away their clothes. The entire performance was merely a pastime.

535 [292] [302] [293]

Bead-Gathering.

The men chose a site for the performers and began to sing and beat drums. The young women would get up and choose partners. A man had his arm and blanket round his partner, and they would slightly raise the feet above the ground with a quick jump. Then they would fall down together, whereupon onlookers threw one blanket after another on top of them. While in this position the man presented his companion with all sorts of trinkets. The blanket-owners recovered their blankets. The ceremony is called nádzo móyuk.

[431]

Pitcemonoqa.

The meaning of pítcemṓnōqa is unknown. The dance was performed at night inside of a lodge. It was danced only for a short time. The step was like that of the Wolf dance. Men and women both participated. One dancer held the skin of an animal in his hand.

[237]

Akwi Noqai.

One or two headmen riding on horseback and dressed in their best clothes, would head a party of dancers (ā́'kwi nōqai). They would go in front of a lodge and begin to dance round while a singer started a song, beating a drum.

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535 This was done at each lodge in succession. The inmates of the lodge would join the ranks of the dancers, who thus gradually acquired a large following. After visiting all the lodges, the paraders ended their performance.

War Dances.

726 535 Long ago, when a war party was about to set out they would get a blanket on the eve of departure and beat it, saying, "Tomorrow we shall go on the warpath." This custom is called páraian by the Wind River Shoshone.[1]

When the scouts had discovered that the enemy was close and came to report their presence, the chief would say: "Today we will have the Afraid dance (tōya nō'qa roi)." Then they got a lot of firewood for the evening, and built a big fire. The best singers acted as musicians, beating their hand-drums, accompanied by women, while the other men danced, merely [292] raising each leg, alternately without change of position. War-bonnets were worn. The performance lasted only a very short time. According to one version, the men came in on horseback, dismounted, and danced pretending to dodge shots fired at them. The dance was meant to give a warning to the people as to the proximity of their enemies.

727 535 When an enemy had been killed and scalped, the wutáp[i] ceremony was held. Here five or six men played the part of musicians, standing up with their hand-drums, while any women that chose might take an active part in the dance. The women all lined up in a row with the scalps at the end of their sticks, and danced toward the men. When close, they stopped, walked to their original places, and waited for the next song, when the same procedure was repeated. Usually they began about ten o'clock in the morning and ceased at three or four in the afternoon.

727 A ceremony called gani' wútap, and possibly related to that just described, was also performed when an enemy had been killed. The performers got their best horses, tied up their tails, and mounted, a man and a woman riding double. Lining up abreast of one another, they rode round the camp. One of the men carried a scalp at the end of a stick, and all sang a war song during the procession. They rode up to a tipi, stopped there, struck it with willow branches, and then stopped.

727 535 [533] The wutáp[i] was followed by the nā'wūya (r[i]) in which every man stood between two women, each embracing his two partners. Thus a circle was formed, and all the dancers walked slowly in a clockwise direction. Drums were beaten with a slow measure, and the dancers themselves also sang.

[1] Cf. p. 811.

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Finally came the nā'rupina'ru. The performers were young people. All the men lined up in a row, facing another line of women. Some (one?) of the men beat drums. The women went backward, followed by the men, who continued to face them. The men might select any woman and put her on their own side, and the women had a corresponding privilege. Thus they walked for a long distance in one direction. Then the men began to walk backwards, followed by the women. This was done several times until some headman ordered them to stop, when all would go home. 127 535

The nü'nühan was held when some enemies had been slain by a war party. Then some eight or ten old men and women marched through camp, went to the lodge of a warrior, who had been of the party, and sang there, beating little sticks. The warrior would come out with a fine buffalo blanket for the men and some meat for the old women. The procession then went on to the lodge of another warrior and went through the same performance, until all the members of the successful expedition had been visited.

Peqowa Noqan.

In this dance (peqówa nóqán) both sexes took part. The young people went into a lodge and the men painted the women. Then all went outside. The women lined up in one row, and the men in another row behind. They walked to the dance ground, where the women turned about to face the men, danced up to them, and then stepped back again, repeating the performance at subsequent songs. 535

Then the headman announced the ā'ⁿnōqâ. The men stood still, beating drums, and the women went round, all abreast.

There followed the Knee dance (táñga nōqá'). The women were in two rows, facing each other, and thus approached the men. When close, they split up into two sections and went back to their starting point.[1] Then all the women formed a circle, and the men got between them. Any onlooker might join.

Women's Dance.

This is a modern dance (waípe nōqâ or waípe nō'kahin) that came from the Crow, according to one informant, and from the south according to another. My interpreter thought it had been introduced not more than [199]

[1] The statement possibly means that the women advanced in one row, which broke up into two as they approached the men.

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535 [177] eight or ten years ago (in 1912). It alternates with the tásayùge as among the Lemhi. There are four or five different singers with hand-drums. The women choose partners, and the men must pay for the privilege of dancing with them.[1]

Tasatuge.

Instead of using the Indian name, tásayùge, the Whites call this the Wolf dance, or sometimes the War dance.[2] The Indians do not connect it with the wolf; one informant thought the name might have been derived from the fact that the headman's quirt is decorated with a coyote tail.

As already hinted above, there may be an obsolete form of the dance [262] in which the performers do not change their position. The dance as now practised is certainly identical with the Grass dance of other tribes, though the Shoshone did not eat dog meat. The performers wore war-bonnets with long streamers and feather bustles. One Indian told me that while sick a man from another tribe had a dream in which he was instructed to perform the tásayùge and promised to get well. He obeyed, and recovered. [111] The dance passed from tribe to tribe and finally the Shoshone are said to have obtained it from the Crow.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, (d), p. 221.
[2] Lowie, (d), 221–223.

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UTE DANCES.

Dog Company.

So far as I understand conditions among the Ute, the Dog company (sari' tsi + u) is the only institution comparable to the Plains societies. According to Charlie Buckskin, this company was not connected with the Dog dance (p. 833); it existed before my informant's time, in the days before the Ute had guns.

The Dog company consisted of a number of men and one woman. They dressed like other people, but wore a distinctive necklace made from a slit wolfskin. Like dogs, they were to give an alarm to the Ute whenever an enemy approached. Accordingly, they went scouting round the village in the daytime and at night, and if they saw anyone coming they ran back to camp to warn the tribe. Sometimes they stayed on a high hill, watching and singing songs. When the camp moved, the Dogs stayed in the rear; when the new site was occupied they approached. They were always afoot.

In every way the Dogs tried to imitate the animal from which they derived their name. They usually ate raw meat, and when they bled from a wound they tried to lick up the blood with the tongue dog-fashion.

After the old Dog company had disappeared, the sole survivor revived it for a while, inviting anyone who wished to join.

Bear Dance.

The Bear Dance (mamáqunikap')[1] is the most important of Ute ceremonies. It was known in the three divisions of the tribe visited and has been referred to by earlier writers. Thus, Clark writes:—

> Their annual dance, which is a religious ceremony, generally takes place some time during the month of February or March. With willow-boughs a large circular enclosure is formed, and the ground within is stamped smooth and hard. Places are set apart for fires, so that the "dance-hall" may be properly illuminated. At one end is the orchestra. I will endeavor to give a brief description of the musical instrument used. A hole is dug in the ground, and into it is fitted snugly a large

[1] Also recorded as mamáxuni'kai. The native name is said to contain no reference to the bear. I do not know whether this applies to another name, kwi+arat n'kai, given by Charlie Buckskin as a synonym of the usual one.

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796 534 535 tin bucket, bottom upwards. Each musician takes a stick, about eighteen inches long, notched from one end to the other. One extremity of this stick is held in the left hand, and placed in contact with the edge of the tin bucket. In the right hand the performer holds a small piece of wood, square or rectangular in shape, and from three to four inches in thickness, and scraping this upwards and downwards on the notched stick, he produces the ravishing music which so delights the dusky dancers. The men and the squaws arrange themselves into two lines, so that the sexes stand opposite and facing each other. When the music commences two squaws 796 535 clasp hands, advance to the male line, and choose their partners; then two more in the same manner make their selection, and so on until all are supplied. Now the males and the females from their respective lines advance towards each other with a trot and a swaying motion of their bodies, until the couples are almost face to face, and then with similar backward movements return to the places from which they started. This alternate advance and retreat is all there is to the dance, but the participants apparently enjoy the exercise immensely, and often continue the dance until they are completely exhausted. What are termed "Bear-Dances" are frequently indulged in merely for sport, they have no religious significance.[1]

The fullest account of the Bear dance known to me is that by Mr. Verner Z. Reed,[2] who witnessed a performance in March, 1893, in the valley of the Rio de los Pinos. His evidence will be drawn upon in the consideration of special points.

796 535 773 Of the origin of the dance Severo (Ignacio) gave the following account:—

Long ago the Bear was a person. He went about alone and found a cottonwood stump. He thought he would dance toward the tree by himself, unseen by any one. So he danced back and forth, originating the Bear dance.[3] When he got back to the village he announced the new dance and began to perform it, but though everybody liked it the young men were bashful and the women merely sang in chorus. The Bear did not like this, so he appointed two leaders who should make the men and women rise without tarrying too long. He said: "I want you to have this dance while I am still inside my house in the winter time. I won't allow it in the summer. If you perform it then, I shall be angry. Some people may have it in the winter, but it will also be well to have it at the beginning of spring. I shall be very glad to hear the songs from within my house. It does not matter how far away I shall be when they perform the dance, I'll hear and rejoice. You must keep this up all the time. I'll come out, and be glad, and look for a female bear for a consort. If they keep up the dance, the leaders may announce the celebration to other villages that are far off, and all may join. Do not confine the dance to one village, I like a big crowd. We will dance four days, then you may have a big feast within the corral, and after the feast go away." This is why the Bear dance is kept up.

Jim Duncan (Whiterocks) gave a different version:—

Long ago the Bear sang a song for a Ute, showed him the dance, and said: "You shall dance this way. If you teach the Indians how to do this, they will be

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[1] Clark, 388–389.
[2] "The Ute Bear Dance," American Anthropologist, 1896, pp. 237–244.
[3] Cf. Mason, p. 363.

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kind to one another and to their wives. The women shall also join in the dance." In showing the dance to this man, the Bear had no corral but he told the Ute how the performance should be conducted. "You shall dance back and forth with your woman partner, while the others sit in the rear and sing songs." The man went to teach his fellow-tribesmen, and the Bear watched him. The Indian had a wife, and during the performance she danced with a young man. When the dance was over, the husband took a club and knocked her down. The Bear came and said to the man, "I did not tell you to hurt your wife, I told you to be good and to tell the other Indians not to hurt their wives." He pulled the man outside his lodge and struck him with his paws. The man howled and promised not to hurt his wife thereafter, then the Bear let him go. Long after this the same man again announced a Bear dance, and after this second performance he was kind to his wife. This is how the Bear dance began.

Still another version by Buckskin Charlie, chief of the Ignacio Ute, merits recording because it connects the ceremony with Sünā'wav[1] (Wolf), the mythical culture hero:—

Sünā'wav[1] told the Indians to have a Bear dance in the spring, but not in the summer when the Bear was out on the mountains since then he might fight anyone he met. The time to dance is while the Bear is still asleep. In the spring the Fly enters his dwelling and begins to buzz about. Then the Bear awakes and asks, "It is spring already, is it not?" "Yes, why do you sleep so long? It is spring, you had better go out. It is time for you to scratch a person's face and make him look bad. Do that, as you always do." "Why, that's nothing. I only make him brave, I don't hurt him. Now, you, when it is hot, you always spoil meat." "Oh, no, I do that to put salt on it, so people can eat it."

When the first thunder is heard, the Bear stretches himself. Later, when there is good sunshine, he comes out again. Sünā'wav[1] said: "If you celebrate the ceremony every spring, the Bear will know it and will not bother you when you are hunting in the mountains. If you do not, he may hurt you. You must always keep up the dance. If any one won't dance with the woman who chooses him for a partner, the Bear will bite him and is liable to kill him."

This is why the Bear ceremony is kept up.

Beyond the desire to conciliate the bear, I was unable to detect any supposed object for the performance. Tony Buckskin, my interpreter at Ignacio, said that the Navajo and Apache performed the Bear dance for the purpose of curing the sick, but that the Ute did not.

According to Reed, "one of the purposes of the dance is to assist the bears to recover from hibernation to find food, to choose mates, and to cast the film of blindness from their eyes. Some of the other motives of the ceremonies are to charm the dancers from danger of death from bears, to enable the Indians to send messages to their dead friends who dwell in the land of immortality, and one or two minor ceremonies are performed usually for the purpose of healing certain forms of sickness." [1]

[1] Reed, p. 220.

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796 535 As indicated in the origin accounts and in the quotation from Clark, the Bear dance was properly celebrated very early in the spring. A man urging another to start the dance would say, "I want to shoot your back with arrows." Tony Buckskin told me that in former times the death of a tribesman shortly before the prospective performance would cause its omission, but that now such a mishap was no longer considered as a preventive. Panuyū's said that the proper time for the dance was when the [825] first thunder was heard in the spring; if the Ute delayed its performance, they greatly feared that people would be killed by bears while out in the mountains. There were sometimes several performances of the ceremony in the spring; in 1912 the Ute of Navaho Springs had two dances on account of the unfavorable weather during the first.

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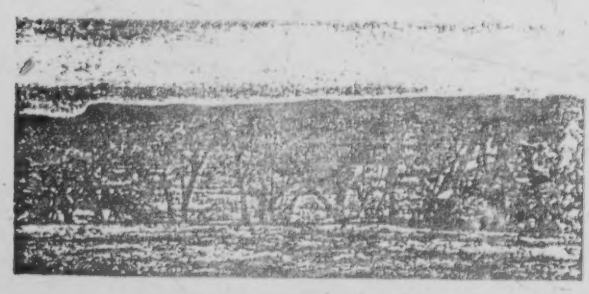

Fig. 1 Ute Bear Dance Enclosure at Navaho Springs, Colorado.

The Bear dance is held in a very nearly circular, roofless enclosure. Reed says it is sacred during the performance and must be kept free from horses or dogs. The enclosure I saw at Navaho Springs (Fig. 1) had a diameter, according to rough measurements, of from seventy-one to seventy-nine feet. At distances of several feet from one another forked cedar trees had been set in the ground to form the circumference, and the spaces between these posts were filled with crossbeams and brush, except on the east side, where a space about 4½ feet in width was left for an entrance.[1] In the rear 796 535 I found a round pit of irregular shape, about two feet deep and three feet wide. This marks the place of the musicians, of whom Reed says not less [346] than twenty had been drilled for the occasion, and from eight to fourteen [539] were constantly employed during the dance. In the pit I found a consid- [534] erable number of notched instruments (wū'nūrügū'nap, wū'nōrō'ɛnop), as

[1] According to Reed, the entrance was to the south or southeast.

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well as several rasps. A few of the instruments were also seen scattered about the dance ground, but all except one in the immediate neighborhood of the pit. About two feet away there was an inverted washtub, and a little farther off a bottomless wooden case. Max Joy, my interpreter, explained that during the performance the tub was placed in the pit, the case over the tub, and a sheet of tin on the case. When the notched stick is rasped on this series of resonators, the noise produced is said to be tremendous. In former times a large basket took the place of the tub. What seemed to be four drumsticks were resting on a horizontal cedar log, just south of the pit; according to Max Joy, these had nothing to do with the Bear ceremony, but were used for the war dance. The brush enclosure seen at Whiterocks also faced east. It was somewhat larger, the diameter being about 90 feet,[1] the height was in part above six feet, but at other spots not more than five feet. In the rear, about three feet east of the enclosure, the place of the pit was taken by a trench about five feet long, two and a half feet wide, and one foot in depth. This was covered with a wooden box, and on this were tin sheets. The ground was strewn with several notched wooden sticks and rasps of cattle bone. All round the ground, some distance from the circumference, there were the traces of fires. These, my interpreter explained, had served to illuminate the place when the people danced in the night.

The instruments, of which several specimens actually used in the ceremony were secured, are illustrated in Fig. 2. At Whiterocks my interpreter said that one end ought to be carved into the head of a mule, horse, bear or rattlesnake and that the stick should be daubed all over with red or yellow paints. At Navaho Springs I was told that the origin of the notched instrument is ascribed to an old woman.

At Ignacio "Ute Jim" is considered the headman of the ceremony, having been appointed by a council some time ago.[2] He sets the date of the performance and directs the erection of the brush fence; he also appoints two men to act as deputies. These men carry sticks. Before the ceremony the picture of a bear is made on cloth and fastened flag-fashion to a tall staff, which is set in the rear of the dance ground (Fig. 3). Mrs. Molineux, who had been a teacher at both the Uintah Reservation and the Ignacio School, showed me a picture by one of her pupils, in which a tree was drawn in the center of the entrance to the dance site. Mrs. Molineux told me that a sprig is really planted there at one stage of the performance but does not remain there permanently.

[1] The one seen by Reed was still larger, from 100 to 150 ft. in diameter.

[2] Recently some of the young men wished to choose someone else as conductor of the Bear dance.

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According to my Navaho Springs interpreter, the men first range themselves in a half-circle on the north side of the ground, while the women form a similar arc on the south side. Severo (Ignacio) described a different arrangement: according to him, there were two half-circles on the north and south side, respectively, but in each arc the men formed the western and the women the eastern half. The women invariably were the ones to choose partners, and the men selected by them are obliged to accept the invitation. If a man refuses, an officer lashes him with a willow. Sometimes

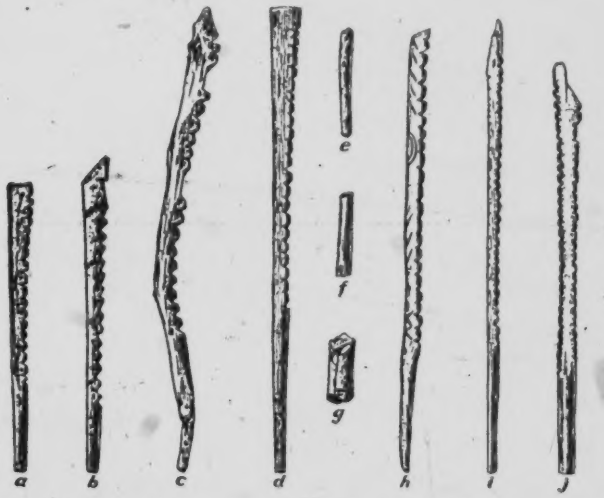

Fig. 2a (50.1–6971), b (50–1205a), c (50.1–7897a), d (50.1–6972), e (50.1–7897b), f (50–1205b), g (50.1–6976), h (50.1–7896), i (50.1–6981), j (50.1–6974). Notched Sticks and Rasps used as Musical Instruments in the Ute Bear Dance. e, f, g, Rasps.

a woman will choose one of the musicians, whose place must then be taken by some other man. Dancers receive no fee from their partners. In dancing the women and men face each other forming two straight lines, on the east and west side respectively (Fig. 4).

According to Panayū's, the proper old-style method is to start the first day's performance in the evening and continue it until about nine o'clock; to stop at about ten or eleven on the second night; about twelve or one on the third; and to dance throughout the fourth night until about one or two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day. On the Uintah Reservation all

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the Ute come to camp near the enclosure on the last day of the ceremony. Towards the end of the ceremony a crow song is sung: sanaqö ä'ri, sánaqö äri. Then they dance in single pairs, partners holding each other, while on the previous days the two rows of dancers approached each other (Fig. 5). The step consists of three forward and two backward steps. The leaders warn the participants to take care lest they should fall. On this occasion friends relieve each other when tired out, but if a man is poor and has no friend he gets no chance to rest at all. Finally one dancer falls, or pretends to fall down, from exhaustion, and the dancing ceases, to be followed by a big feast. Jim Duncan (Whiterocks) said that if it was a man that succumbed first the women were said to win, and *vice versa*. Mrs. Molineux told me that according to her Uintah informants the Bear dance was formerly connected with an exchange of wives, but I obtained no corroborative evidence on this point.

There is an important rule relating to the falling down of a dancer; whether it applies only, or particularly, to the final part of the ceremony, I do not know. An individual finding himself in the plight described may not rise by his own efforts but must wait for one of the musicians. This musician comes with a notched instrument, places it on each foot, each knee, the shoulders, head and back of the person on the ground, rasps it over each part of the body mentioned, and pronounces words to this effect: "I want you to enjoy a good life without any pain, the Bear will blow it away and cure you. The Bear is great medicine and hears what I am saying." If a person got up without this rite, he might fall sick.

After the conclusion of the Bear dance the songs appropriate to it must not be sung, lest the Bear should maltreat the singers.

While the connection of the ceremony with the animal from which it takes its current name is clear enough from the foregoing, it is brought out even more forcibly in Reed's account. The enclosure itself, according to this witness, is meant to represent a bear's cave, and the entrance is toward the sunshine because bears were supposed to select caves with regard to their opening in that direction. An initial song by the musicians is meant to transport the noise made in the pit to the caves of the bears and transform it to thunder, which partly rouses the bears from their winter sleep and each day's performance symbolizes their gradual restoration from hibernation. Motions of the arms are made in imitation of the motion the bear makes with his forepaws. Women choose partners because the female bear chooses her mate. At the close of the ceremony the bears are supposed to have regained all their faculties, to have mated, and secured food. The spirit of the final feast, which follows an eighteen hours' fast, is supposed to be partly wafted away to the forests, where it is believed the bears feed on it.

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While gambling is tabooed during the performance, Mr. Reed describes the ceremony as not lacking in social features. More particularly is it a period of courtship for the younger people.

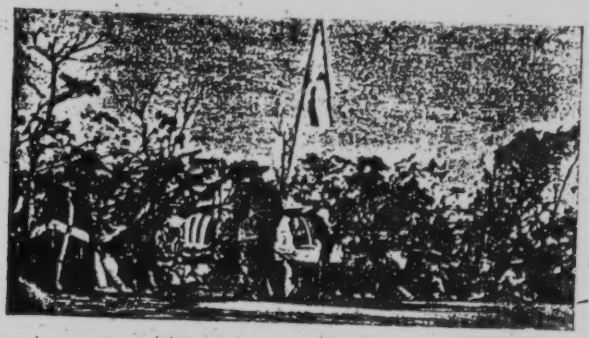

Fig. 3.

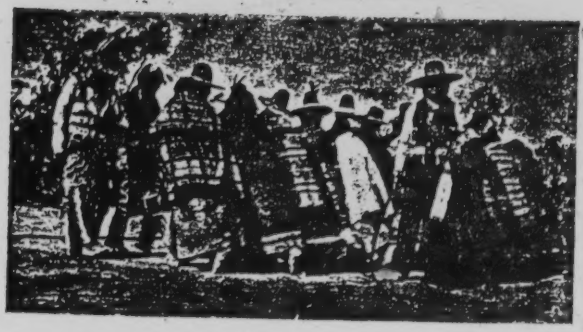

Fig. 4.

Ute Bear Dance at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The musicians (Fig. 3) are seated their round pit. *Photo by Charles D. Wagner.*

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Certain rites not mentioned by any of my witnesses may best be described in Mr. Reed's words:—

Several times during the progress of the dance messages are sent to the Land Beyond. One of the managers waves his staff for silence, and then a chief arises and

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announces the rite. The men stand in silence on one side of the inclosure, the women sit mutely on the other. Then a bunch of corn-husks for cigarettes, together with a bottle of tobacco, are handed to the leader of the musicians. He takes the husks and tobacco in his hand, reverently bows his head and repeats an incantation, and then rolls a cigarette, passing the husks and tobacco to another singer, who does the same. When each of the singers has rolled a cigarette, all heads are bowed again, there is a long moment of absolute silence, and then the words of an incantation are repeated in chorus by all the singers. It is believed that the words of the incantation are heard in the sky, and that the shades there know that messages are to be sent to them from some of their immortal brothers. After this incantation the cigarettes are lighted and a few puffs blown toward the sky, it being believed that the smoke ascends and provides a smoke of friendship with the shades. Then the particular messages are

Fig. 5.- Ute Bear Dance at Navaho Springs, Colorado. *Photo by Charles D. Wagner.*

spoken, the speaker bowing his head as he talks, and all the others maintaining the most rigid silence and not moving in their places. The Indians believe that any one can, with the aid of the incantations and the sacred smoke, send messages to the sky, but that answers can be heard only by medicine men.

Two or three times during the continuance of the dance, but never until after the first day has passed, a handsomely beaded medicine pipe, filled with dried kinikinik leaves, is brought into the inclosure, lighted, and passed from one man to another, each taking two or three puffs, rubbing his fingers over the stem of the pipe, as though it were a flute, and then handing it to the man next to him. This ceremony is to show affection for the shades by providing them with a similar smoke, and is an important medical ceremony as well, for it is believed that it protects the smokers from pneumonia and consumption. The women take no active part in either of the smoking ceremonies, but are rapt observers.

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Squaw Dances.

I observed part of a squaw dance on the Uintah Reservation, said to be of recent and alien origin. The men do not stand between the women, but all the participants of either sex stand together, jointly forming a single circle. In dancing they moved clockwise, crossing the right foot over the left, then slowly dragging the left foot after. There was no musical instrument, the performers dancing in accompaniment to songs sung by themselves. At Ignacio I saw a squaw dance of the usual type.[1]

Jim Duncan (Whiterocks) told me of another dance, of which he did not know the name, in which men and women joined hands. He said it was usually performed in the fall, but occasionally at other seasons. It may possibly be identical with the tawáni'qai, Daylight Dance, of which I heard in Ignacio. Men and women formed a ring in the daytime and danced without any music but their own singing.

Another dance in which men and women took part was the tomū'gani'-kaγa (tomū'gweni'kap!). It was held only in the night. The men all stamped their feet vigorously, and this feature is said to be expressed in the name of the performance. The men and women formed a ring to dance. They sang, but there was no drumming. When through, the performers all fell down on the ground, piling on top of one another for fun. The words of their song meant: "Now, that woman is very anxious to mate, but now we have pretty nearly done and she can have her wish."

Men and women also joined in a dance called tcinúan'kaγa. Old persons started it. There were no drums, only gourd-rattles. The young people fastened rattling objects to their clothes. This, as well as the preceding dance, might be performed at any time of the year.

In the Deer-Hoof Rattle dance (tasí tcuni'kap) from two to four old men had sticks about eight feet long and covered with buckskin, to the top of which deer or antelope hoofs were attached for rattles. When the dance had been announced, the people gathered in the place mentioned. Then the musicians began to sing a distinctive song. A woman would begin to dance, then some man came and put his arm round her; if he put his arm round her neck, the crowd called out to him to encircle her waist. Sometimes two women began to dance together, then one man would act as partner to both of them. Only a few people danced at the same time, but anyone might dance who so wished. The performers merely moved up and down without change of position. If any of them failed to keep time, the

[1] See Lowie, (e), p. 206.

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musicians prodded their ears with the rattle-sticks. This dance was not confined to any particular season of the year. 535

In the kwinū'inikaⁱ (kwinū'ni'kara) the musicians, who were all men, also used deer-hoof rattles, according to Panayū's, but the sticks were from one to six feet in length. In addition they had a drum, on each side of which the men lined up in a row. The women asked old men to sing for them; then they danced, jumping up and down, and taking turns at different songs. Only women took part, the old ones acting as leaders. This performance always took place after dinner, and might be followed by the Dog dance. [534] [533]

In the Dog dance (sari'nikaⁱ) the women chose men partners. If a man danced by himself, the women would come over and dance with him. The men sometimes covered their partners with blankets and, thus covered, kissed them. They merely danced up and down. At sunset the performance ceased.

War Dances.

The tō'n'kánam was a preparation dance, performed by men about to set out on a war party. They took off all their clothes except for the gee-string, and carried weapons. The women watched to see who was going against the enemy and also sang. Drums were beaten for music. 535 726 [291]

After having slain an enemy and returned from war the braves would dance naked round a scalp attached to a high pole. Only the men took part. This performance was called 'ā'sin'kàp. It was distinct from the Shield dance, tápu ni'kàmi, in which the women danced with the scalps, their leaders sometimes wearing war-bonnets and carrying shields or spears. [533] 535 727 [292]

There was once a performance known as ninî + ewî'eo. After singing and drumming all night while out on the warpath, some Ute Indians would slowly approach a famous warrior and suddenly awake him by hallooing. One of their number was painted and dressed up as in war. When the sleeper had been roused, they thus addressed him: "We have heard that you are a brave man. You saved your life, however you were brave enough to attack and kill an enemy." Then they have some music and dance. The warrior gives a gun, horse, or some other property to the visitors, who proceed from one distinguished warrior to another, everywhere collecting gifts. 535 726 555 [431]

The modern social dance commonly called War dance (tá + uxán'kai) apparently does not differ from the Grass dance as found among the Plains Indians, except that it seems to lack all the more serious features. It alternates with the squaw dance. 535 171

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Panatsuniqai.

535 Sometimes in the night people would get a hide, beat it, and proceed
[533] singing from one tipi to another. This was called panátsuni'qai (panátcuni'-
[534] kap). They advanced towards a headman's tipi, and one member of the
party would go ahead, peep in, and might find old men seated there smoking.
[276] Then he would report: "They are smoking over there." Then the procession went to the spot, and stopped. The old men filled a pipe, made the singers sit down and gave them to smoke. When they had done, they performed a round dance, after which they went away to sleep.

535 The above account was obtained at Whiterocks. An Ignacio informant said that both men and women took part in this dance, which lasted at least until midnight. He seemed to connect with this performance another called "doubling up," nawā'tó'kwabíni'kà'. This was characterized by both men and women lining up in facing rows as in the Bear dance, but hand-drums were used. Both sides took a few steps forward, then each woman got between two men she liked.

535 What seems the same, or at least a related, performance was also de-
276 scribed by one informant under the caption ganî'ya uwí + ev, Long Village. At night while men were assembled smoking in a chief's house, a party of young men and women would gather and proceed thither as quietly as possible. One of the men in the procession opened the door, and all gave the war whoop. Then they began a song and dance just outside the lodge. The chief and his guests were asked for a smoke. After three or four songs the headman of the dancers said to his followers while they were still dancing, "You know how hard the skin from the neck of animals is, that is how those men inside are." This meant that they did not readily yield a smoke. Finally, however, they would relent, the chief handing a pipe to the leader of the procession who smoked and passed it on to his companions. This performance was repeated at other lodges and finally a dance was held in a suitable place.

Horse Parade.

527 Just before sunrise a headman would announce: "Everyone shall mount
492 a horse and take a drum to sing with on horseback!" Then all proceeded in this fashion round the camp. The headman then said, "Come to my
535 house, let all gather there." When all had assembled, they decorated them-
[302] selves with different kinds of paint and had a dance, possibly on the afternoon of the same day, the Lame dance, sañkíni'qap'. In this both men and

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women limped around, one behind another. There were two parallel rows, but one would cross the other in the course of the dance. The sexes were not divided by these rows. After the dance all scattered to go home. Then someone might announce: "There will be another dance, the quni'n'-qawā'n'." In this dance the performers moved round with an up-and-down hop. 535

Possibly a different type of parade was described under the name of kā'wirukqanàm. All the men lined up on horseback, and the women also mounted, forming a line behind. A man wearing a war-bonnet and sometimes carrying a shield or spear was leader and would go from one end of the procession to the other. He rode a horse that had been painted up and had its tail wrapped with red cloth. Sometimes there were as many as three of these leaders. The musicians had hand-drums and occupied the center of the men's line. The women all sang in chorus. Sometimes the men struck their guns with ramrods to beat time. In parading they would discharge their guns into the air. After a while, the leader or chief delivered a speech in a very loud voice then they paraded again. Finally the men arranged themselves in single file, headed by the chief, who galloped to camp, followed by the rest, the women bringing up the rear. Sometimes a ring was formed by the riders and a performance of the Dog dance took place within this space, though it was not necessarily connected with the parade. 527 492 534 533 535